

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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NSC-05 DODE-00 CIAE-00 /056 W
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R 091143Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3622
AMEMBASSY BONN
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
USMISSION BERLIN
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR PGOV WB GW US UK FR
SUBJ: QUADRIpartite MEETINGS ON BERLIN AND GERMANY:
BERLIN ASSESSMENT

REF: BONN 7748

1. AT MAY 7 SENIOR LEVEL MEETING, THE BERLIN ASSESSMENT
CONTAINED IN REFTEL WAS APPROVED. UK REPRESENTATIVE
HIBBERT DROPPED THE UK BRACKETS IN PARAGRAPHS 11 AND 17.
HE PROPOSED THE FOLLOWING NEW WORDING FOR PARAGRAPH 13
WHICH WAS ACCEPTED BY THE OTHER THREE REPRESENTATIVES.
BEGIN TEXT: WHILE CONTINUING ITS ATTACK ON BERLIN'S
TIES WITH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC, THE SOVIET UNION HAS IN
THE PAST FEW MONTHS PERMITTED THE GDR TO TAKE CERTAIN
MEASURES WHICH HAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STATUS OF THE
EASTERN SECTOR OF BERLIN AND THEREFORE RESTRICTIVE IM-
PLICATIONS FOR THE EXERCISE OF QUADRIpartite RIGHTS AND
RESPONSIBILITIES IN BERLIN AS A WHOLE. THE LATEST DE-
MARCHE BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ABOUT WESTERN MILITARY
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PATROLS IN EAST BERLIN MAKES THESE IMPLICATIONS
EXPLICIT. END TEXT

2. THE PROPOSED FRENCH LANGUAGE IN PARA 15 WAS ACCEPTED.

3. CONTRARY TO EXPECTATION, THERE WAS LITTLE DISCUSSION
OF THE DISPUTED PARAGRAPHS. HIBBERT MADE NO EFFORT TO

PRESS HIS PROPOSED CHANGES APART FROM HIS SUGGESTION OF NEW LANGUAGE FOR PARA 13.

4. THE BULK OF THE SENIOR LEVEL CONSIDERATION OF THE ASSESSMENT, WHICH ALL REPRESENTATIVES FOUND EXCELLENT, CENTERED ON THE LAST PARAGRAPH, NO. 23, WHICH POSED A SERIES OF QUESTIONS CONCERNING PROBLEMS FOR THE FUTURE. DISCUSSION OF PARA 23(A) RESULTED IN AGREEMENT TO HAVE THE BONN GROUP CONDUCT A STUDY OF POSSIBLE CONTINGENCY MEASURES FOR USE IN BERLIN AND ELSEWHERE AIMED AT COUNTERING ANY SOVIET AND/OR GDR MOVES AGAINST FLAG PATROLS. BOTH HARTMAN AND DE LA BOULAYE STRESSED THEIR VIEW THAT MEASURES IN BERLIN WOULD, BECAUSE OF THE VARIOUS /FACTORS INVOLVED, BE LIMITED AND THAT TO HAVE ANY REAL EFFECT, THE MEASURES WOULD HAVE TO MOVE QUICKLY OUTSIDE THE BERLIN CONTEXT. HIBBERT AND VAN WELL TOOK THIS POINT BUT HIBBERT URGED THAT THE BONN GROUP FOCUS MUCH OF ITS ATTENTION ON DRAWING UP A PRIORITIZED CATALOGUE OF MEASURES THAT COULD BE UNDERTAKEN IN BERLIN. BOTH HE AND VAN WELL TOOK THE POSITION THAT ANY MEANINGFUL CONSIDERATION OF EXTRA-BERLIN MEASURES WOULD HAVE TO INVOLVE SENIOR OFFICIALS AND WOULD GO BEYOND THE WRIT OF THE BONN GROUP. VAN WELL ALSO ARGUED IN FAVOR OF TIT-FOR-TAT COUNTERMEASURES IN BERLIN, AN ARGUMENT THAT BOTH HARTMAN AND DE LA BOULAYE COUNTERED WITH THE WARNING THAT THAT APPROACH MIGHT BE WHAT THE SOVIETS WERE SEEKING.

5. HARTMAN STATED THAT THE U.S. SIDE HAD DONE SOME PRE-SECRET

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LIMINARY THINKING ABOUT CONTINGENCY PLANNING IN WASHINGTON. HE SAID WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO PRESENT THIS THINKING IN THE BONN GROUP AT AN EARLY DATE. HE SAID THIS WOULD INCLUDE POSSIBLE MEASURES TO BE CONSIDERED AGAINST THE SOVIETS IN BERLIN, AGAINST THE GDR IN BILATERAL RELATIONS AND AGAINST THE SOVIETS IN THE BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL FIELD. THE OTHER THREE REPRESENTATIVES SAID THEY WOULD WELCOME THIS U.S. CONTRIBUTION, HIBBERT IN PARTICULAR STRESSING THE NEED FOR SOME FAST BONN GROUP ACTION. HE THOUGHT THAT ANY ALLIED REACTION WOULD HAVE TO INCLUDE A MIXTURE OF MEASURES INSIDE AND OUTSIDE BERLIN.

6. CONCERNING PARA 23(B) AND ALLIED RELATIONS WITH THE GDR, HIBBERT ARGUED THAT IT WOULD BE WRONG TO GO FULL SPEED BACKWARD WITH THE GDR WHEN THE SOVIETS WERE THE ONES WE SHOULD BE HITTING FIRST WITH COUNTERMEASURES. HE AGREED, OF COURSE, THAT THE GDR SHOULD BE BROUGHT INTO THE MATTER BUT THOUGHT THAT COUNTERMEASURES AGAINST THE

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GDR WERE NOT LIKELY TO BE THE DECISIVE FACTOR IN GETTING
THE PROBLEM SOLVED.

7. VAN WELL SAID THAT, CONCERNING FRG'S TIES WITH THE
GDR, CARE HAD TO BE TAKEN NOT TO DISTURB THE EVOLVING RE-
LATIONSHIP. THE GDR WAS INTERESTED IN IMPROVING RELA-
TIONS WITH THE THREE WESTERN POWERS BUT THERE WAS A
SUBSTANTIAL ELEMENT IN THE GDR LEADERSHIP THAT WOULD LIKE
A PRETEXT TO CUT BACK ON RELATIONS WITH THE FRG. ASKED
IF THIS EXTENDED TO ECONOMIC RELATIONS AS WELL. VAN WELL
SAID THIS WAS ALSO THE CASE THERE. OBVIOUSLY, THE GDR
DID NOT WISH TO UPSET PRESENT ECONOMIC ARRANGEMENTS WITH
THE FRG AND INDEED ITS INTEREST IN THESE ARRANGEMENTS
MIGHT INCREASE. HOWEVER, FOR THE GDR, THE POLITICAL
ASPECT OF THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE FRG WAS AND WOULD RE-
MAIN DOMINANT. HE THEREFORE WAS OF THE VIEW THAT THE FRG
SHOULD GIVE THE GDR NO EXCUSE TO CUT BACK ON CONTACTS
WITH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC.

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8. BOTH HARTMAN AND HIBBERT AGREED THAT FRG-GDR RELATIONS WERE DIFFERENT FROM THE GDR'S WITH THE THREE ALLIES. HOWEVER, THEY THOUGHT THAT ALL FOUR ALLIES SHOULD BE POINTING GENERALLY IN THE SAME DIRECTION WITH THE EAST GERMANS. IT WOULD BE CONTRADICTORY IF WE ALL WENT OFF IN DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS. HARTMAN ARGUED THAT THE GDR COULD NOT BE LEFT TO BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD SUFFER NO CONSEQUENCES FOR ITS ACTIONS IN BERLIN. BY ALL MEANS, WE SHOULD CENTER OUR ATTENTION FIRST ON THE SOVIETS BUT THE GDR SHOULD FEEL THE PINCH TOO. NOT ONLY IN TERMS OF ITS RELATIONS WITH THE THREE POWERS BUT ALSO WITH THE FRG.

9. VAN WELL SAID THAT HE FULLY UNDERSTOOD THE THRUST OF THESE COMMENTS. HE NOTED THAT THERE WERE BUILT-IN CONSTRAINTS ON THE INNER-GERMAN RELATIONSHIP. WHEN THE GDR ACTED BADLY IN BERLIN, THEN THE DOMESTIC PRESSURES ON THE BONN GOVERNMENT TO HIT BACK AT THE GDR BECAME EXTREMELY HEAVY. THUS IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE FRG LEADERSHIP TO CONSIDER ANY POSITIVE MOVES WITH THE GDR AT A TIME THAT THE EAST GERMANS WERE MISBEHAVING IN BERLIN. HE THEREFORE THOUGHT THERE WOULD BE A GENERAL COINCIDENCE OF POLICY TOWARD THE GDR BETWEEN ALL FOUR ALLIES.

10. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE ENVISAGED BONN GROUP STUDY ON COUNTERMEASURES COMBINED WITH VAN WELL'S DESCRIPTION OF INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS FAIRLY MUCH ANSWERED THE QUESTIONS POSED IN PARA 23 (D)(C) AND (E).

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